

CONTENTS

	Page
Acknowledgements	III
Executive Summary	1
Dedication.....	1
To POWs.....	1
To the Families	1
To those who Remembered.....	2
The Committee's Purpose	2
The Committee's Methods and Approach.....	5
Summary of Findings and Recommendations	6
America's "Last Known Alive" in Southeast Asia	6
Investigation of Issues Related to Paris Peace Accords.....	11
Obstacles Faced by U.S. Negotiators.....	11
American Protests	12
Post-Homecoming.....	13
Conclusions.....	14
Investigation of the Accounting Process	14
Investigation of Intelligence Activities.....	18
Overall Intelligence Community Support	19
The Role of the Defense Intelligence Agency	20
The Role of the National Security Agency	22
Pilot Distress Symbols	23
Covert Operations	26
Intelligence Support in Laos During the War	27
Cooperation from Governments in Southeast Asia.....	27
Vietnam	27
Laos.....	29
Cambodia	30
Government Policies and Actions.....	30
Declassification.....	30
Inter-Agency Group	31
Government-to-Government Offers	32
Review of Private Activities	33
Information from Russia and Eastern Europe.....	34
Gen. Volkogonov's Assessment.....	35
World War II	36
Cold War	36
Korean Conflict	36
Vietnam War	37
Information from North Korea and China	38
Families	40
Conclusion	41
Chapter 1: Introduction	44
Creation of the Senate Select Committee	44
The Committee's Mission	45
De-Mystifying the Process	46
Accountability and Response	47
Building a Public Record	47
The Investigation	48
Cooperation by Southeast Asian Governments	48
Vietnam	48
Laos.....	49
Cambodia	50
Previous Wars	51
Previous Investigations	51

Chapter 1—Continued**The Committee's Mission—Continued****Previous Investigations—Continued**

	Page
The Montgomery Committee	52
The Woodcock Commission	53
Live-Sighting Reports	54
Internal DIA Inquiries	55
Reagan Inter-Agency Group	56
Challenge for the Senate Select Committee	56
Baseline Hearings, November 1991	57
Chapter 2: The Paris Peace Accords	59
Key Questions and Key Issues	59
Obstacles to Resolution	59
Purpose	60
Investigative Approach	61
Background	62
Outline of the Negotiations	62
Public Sessions	62
Secret Talks	63
The Issue of Prisoners	65
Timing of POW Release	66
Exchange of Lists	66
Linkage to Release of Civilian Prisoners	68
Application to Prisoners Captured Outside Vietnam	68
The Issue of U.S. Aid	73
The Agreement	75
Implementation of the Accords: The First 60 Days	77
General Expectations	77
Expectations about Laos	78
January 27, 1973: The Lists are Exchanged	81
U.S. Reaction: Disappointment and Dismay	82
U.S. Protests	83
Reactions to DRV/Laos List	83
Kissinger's February 1973 Visit to Hanoi	85
Discrepancy Cases	85
Enforcing the Indochina Understanding	86
The Laos Cease-fire Agreement	87
The Problems Gets Worse	88
U.S. Intelligence Assessment	89
Admiral Moorer's March 22 Cable	89
Ambassador Godley's March 22 Cable	90
Admiral Moorer's March 23 Cable	91
Summary	91
Homecoming Complete Laos Unresolved	92
Post Homecoming	93
Presidential Statements	93
The Clements/Shields Meeting	95
The Nixon/Shields Meeting	96
Shields' Press Conference	97
Shields' Memo to Ambassador Hill	99
Effect of Administration's Statements	100
Kissinger-Le Duc Tho Meetings, May-June 1973	101
Status Change Policy	104
Phase-Out of POW/MIA Task Force	108
Joint Economic Commission	109
Four-Party Joint Military Team	110
Efforts to Gain an Accounting in Laos	111
Discussion	113
Orchestrated Confusion: The DRV and Pathet Lao	113
What Could the Administration Have Done?	115
Diplomatic Efforts	115
Military Options	116
Congress	120
Watergate	121
Pro and Con: Were POWs Left Behind?	122
Indications that Americans May Have Been Left Behind	122
Witness Assessments	122
Laos: Complicating Factors	124

	Page
Chapter 2—Continued	
Questions of Continued Links Between U.S. Aid and POW/MIA.....	126
Conclusions	126
Chapter 3: Accounting for Missing Servicemen	
Overview	127
Records Search.....	129
Civilian Accounting: Department of State.....	132
Civilian Accounting: Central Intelligence Agency.....	133
Deserters	133
War-Time Accounting	134
The Process.....	134
Early Losses	135
DIA's Involvement.....	136
Cross-Border Operations.....	138
Databases and Accounting Terms	139
Casualty Status Determinations.....	139
War-Time Lists.....	141
The Sullivan Report.....	142
Preparations for Repatriation	143
Operation Homecoming Accounting	144
POW Numbers.....	146
Information from Debriefings.....	146
Post-Homecoming Accountability: April 1973–April 1975.....	147
Live Americans	149
Status Reviews	151
Shifts in Intelligence Priorities.....	151
Disposition of Records.....	152
Post-War Accountability: April 1975–Present	153
Accounting Efforts.....	153
Carter Administration Policies	154
Reagan Administration Efforts	155
Redefining “Unaccounted For”	158
Laos: the DIA View	159
Discrepancy Cases	160
The Vice Chairman’s List	161
Criticisms of U.S. Government Accounting	163
Committee Findings.....	163
Chapter 4: Intelligence	166
Overview	166
Intelligence and Intelligence Analysis	167
Investigating the Intelligence Agencies’ Performance	168
Intelligence Community Support of the POW Effort	168
Priority	168
Analytical Priorities	168
Central Intelligence Agency Actions	169
Management Actions	169
Collection and Special Operations After Homecoming	169
CIA Primacy in Laos and Information-Sharing.....	169
Analysis or Lack of It	170
Current Role	170
The Role of the Defense Intelligence Agency	170
Background	170
DIA’s Management Issues	170
DIA Internal Criticisms	172
Discussion.....	176
Live-Sighting Reports	177
Background	177
Current Operations	179
Committee Investigation	181
Cluster Analysis Methodology	181
Review of Files and DIA Source Evaluations.....	183
Key Events in the Investigation	184
Other Analyses	184
Source Analysis versus Content Analysis	185
Minority View	185
Majority View	186
Analysis of Clusters	187
Hanoi Ministry of Defense (Vietnam).....	187
Viengxay (Laos).....	189

VIII

	Page
Chapter 4—Continued	
Analysis of Clusters—Continued	
Son La Area (Vietnam).....	189
Oudomsai (Laos).....	190
Summary.....	191
Other Live-Sighting Reports.....	192
Current Status of Live-Sighting Investigations	193
Example: Pleiku, November 1992.....	195
Discussion.....	198
Pilot Distress Symbols.....	200
Background.....	201
Military Escape & Evasion Program	201
Investigation Procedures.....	201
Possible POW Signals	203
Intelligence Community Assessment.....	205
JSSA Findings	207
Intelligence Community Search for Evader Symbols	207
DIA Investigation.....	209
Committee Imagery Analysis	213
Discussion.....	216
Recommendations.....	217
Covert Operations	218
Investigative Procedures	219
Discussion.....	219
Private Operations With Official Support	221
The Role of the National Security Agency.....	222
Background	222
NSA's Responsibilities	222
SIGINT and DIA Case Files	224
Post-1973 Reports and Intercepts on Possible POWs.....	224
An NSA Analyst's View	225
NSA and Baron 52.....	227
Intelligence Support in Laos	229
Other NSA Sources	232
Chapter 5: Government Policies and Actions	232
President Nixon, Ford, Carter and Reagan.....	232
Declassification	233
Overview	233
Existing Law: Executive Order 1236.....	234
Prior Disclosure Efforts.....	235
Senate Joint Resolution 125	235
Committee Task Force	236
Senate Resolution 400.....	236
Members' Letter to President Bush	237
Senate Resolution 324.....	239
Executive Order 12812.....	239
Central Documentation Office	240
Discussion.....	243
Summary.....	244
Public Awareness Campaign.....	244
Nixon Administration.....	245
Laird Initiative	245
Search for Allies	246
H. Ross Perot	246
POW Bracelets	247
Son Tay Raid	247
Operation Homecoming	247
POWs' View	248
Debriefings	253
Debriefing Results	255
Life in Captivity	255
The Prison System	256
Information about Unaccounted-for Servicemen	256
Other Indications.....	259
Were Specialists Kept Behind?	259
Possibility of POWs Outside Returnees' Knowledge	261
Mulligan	263
Sponeyberger and Wilson	264

	Page
Chapter 5—Continued	
Operation Homecoming—Continued	
Possibility of POWs Outside Returnees' Knowledge—Continued	
Col. Donald "Digger" Odell.....	265
DIA Assessment.....	265
Committee Review of Debriefing Reports.....	268
Discussion.....	270
Inter-Agency Group	271
History of IAGs.....	271
Creation of the IAG on POW/MIA Affairs	272
Public Accountability.....	272
Current IAG Practices.....	274
Policies Affected by the IAG	274
The League's Influence Over Government Policy.....	276
Discussion of the League's Role	280
Discussion.....	282
Government-to-Government Offers.....	282
The 1981 Alleged Offer.....	282
ASEAN Country	285
Remains Recovery Efforts	286
Recoverable Remains.....	286
Vessey "Sensibility Check"	286
Warehousing Remains	288
Vietnamese Amnesty Program	289
Excavations.....	289
Current Operations	291
Future Plans.....	292
Remains Repatriation Efforts	292
GAO's Investigation of CIL-HI	292
Outside Experts' Findings	294
GAO's Findings	293
On-Going Work at CIL-HI	294
Discussion.....	295
Conclusions: Conspiracy Theory and Other Myths.....	296
Conspiracy Theory.....	296
Myths	299
Island of Syphilitic Souls Theory	300
Systematic Lie Theory	300
"Black Ops" Theory	300
"Crazies and Amputees" Theory	300
Chapter 6: Private Efforts.....	301
Overview	301
Public Awareness Campaigns	301
Reconnaissance/Rescue Missions	302
Photographs	302
Fundraising	302
Public-Private Alliances	303
Lao Resistance.....	303
Questions about U.S. Government Involvement with Private Efforts to fund Lao Resistance.....	305
Other Efforts Related to Lao Resistance Forces	309
Recent Reconnaissance and Rescue Missions	310
Team Falcon	310
1988 Mission to Southeast Asia	312
James "Bo" Gritz	314
Dissemination of Unreliable Information.....	316
Col. Jack Bailey	317
Col. Albert Shinkle	317
Khambang Sibounheuang	318
Photographs.....	320
The Rowley Photo.....	321
The Borah Photo.....	321
The Carr Photo	322
The Robertson-Stevens-Lundy Photo	322
Dog Tag Reports	324
Discussion.....	325
Reward Offers	326
Fundraising	328

	Page
Chapter 6—Continued	
Fundraising—Continued	
Amounts Raised.....	329
Professional Fundraising Techniques.....	330
Operation Rescue, Inc.....	332
Skyhook II.....	334
Veterans of the Vietnam War, Inc.....	335
DIA's Analysis of the Fundraising Solicitations.....	338
Use of Proceeds: Fundraising vs. Program Expenses.....	339
Disclosure of Fundraising Expenses	339
Other POW/MIA Groups.....	341
BRAVO	342
Georgia Committee for POW/MIA, Inc.....	342
The Lima (Ohio) Area MIA-POW	342
MN League of Families/MN Won't Forget POW/MIA	343
POW Network	343
Prisoner of War Committee of Michigan	343
Red River Valley Fighter Pilots Association.....	344
Discussion	344
Chapter 7: Families	346
Missing a Loved One	346
Families' Views and Experience.....	347
Families' Central Role in Committee's Work	348
The Search for Answers	349
U.S. Government Actions During the War	351
War-Time Secrecy.....	351
Secrecy's Effects.....	355
Mis-Reporting.....	355
When Evidence Suggested Death.....	355
When Evidence Pointed to Life	357
Public Relations Campaign.....	358
Post-War Government Policies	359
Presumed Findings of Death.....	359
Changing Definitions	361
Live-Sighting Reports	361
Repatriation of Remains	361
Casualty Officers.....	362
Families Turn Elsewhere for Help	364
National League of Families	364
National Alliance of Families	365
Fellow Combat Veterans	365
Private Groups	366
Discussion	368
Recommendations.....	369
Chapter 8: Gauging Cooperation of Governments in Southeast Asia	370
Vietnam	370
From Operation Homecoming Until 1982.....	371
Reagan Administration Initiatives (1982–1987)	374
General Vessey's Contributions (1987–1991).....	377
1991: The Pace of Activity Quicksens.....	379
1992: Administration and Committee Efforts to Encourage Cooperation	382
April 1992: Select Committee Delegation.....	383
Meetings in Hanoi.....	383
"Breakthrough" Guarantees	383
Inspection of Thanh Liet Prison.....	384
HCM, Da Nang and Mekong Delta Visits	384
Recent Developments.....	385
Committee Hearings.....	388
December 1992: Kerry-Smith Trip.....	390
Laos	391
Cambodia	393
Chapter 9: Information from Russia, North Korea and China	394
The U.S.-Russia Joint Commission	394
Task Force Russia.....	394
Investigation in Progress	395
Committee Hearings	396
Volkogonov Testimony	397

Chapter 9—Continued	Page
Committee Hearings—Continued	
Volkogonov's Dec. 17, 1992 Letter.....	401
U.S. POWs and Korea	401
Official Assessments.....	401
Assessment of Committee Investigator.....	402
RAND Project/Cole Testimony.....	403
Volkogonov Testimony	409
Corso Testimony	410
Simpson Testimony	413
Kiba Testimony	414
State Department Testimony.....	415
Dumas Testimony	416
Oprica Testimony	416
U.S. POWs and World War II.....	417
RAND Project/Cole Testimony.....	417
Sanders, Sauter and Brown.....	419
Cold War Incidents	421
Joint Staff Report.....	421
Defense Department View	422
Joint Commission Visit to Ukraine	422
RAND Project/Cole Testimony.....	422
Family Members and Task Force Russia.....	423
Vietnam War	424
Defense Department Testimony	425
Assessment of Committee Investigator.....	425
Bui Tin Testimony	425
Other Reports	426
Mooney Testimony	427
Activities in Moscow	428
Joint U.S.-Russia Commission.....	428
U.S. Delegation.....	428
Russian Delegation	428
Plenary Meetings.....	428
December 1992 Meeting.....	429
Task Force Russia.....	430
Organization and Mission	430
Personnel.....	430
Mission	430
Objectives.....	430
Russian Joint Office.....	431
Joint Interview Program.....	431
Interviews with Russian Officials.....	431
Interviews with Russian Citizens.....	432
Summary of Requests to Russians	435
Correspondence Files.....	435
Archives	436
Structure of Archives	436
Visits to Archives	436
Archival Research Agreements	436
Documents Requested	437
World War II	437
Korean War	437
Cold War	437
Vietnam War	437
Documents Received	437
Assessment of Archival Research.....	438
POW/MIA Family Member Efforts in Russia	438
Repatriation of U.S. Citizens Buried in Russia	439
Mutual Cooperation	439
Russian Inquiries on Afghanistan Veterans.....	439
Soviet Submarine Incident	439
The Case of "David Markin"	439
Future Actions	441
Levels of Cooperation	441
Trips and Visits.....	442
Planned Interviews	442
Follow-Up Action Leads	442

Chapter 9—Continued	
Future Actions—Continued	
Investigation of Individual Leads	442
Conclusions	442
Information from North Korea and China.....	445
Chapter 10: Conclusions and a Look Ahead	447
Russia	447
Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.....	448
China and North Korea	448
Defense Department	448
Justice Department.....	449
Watergate Tapes.....	449
Progress on Declassification	449
Information About the Committee	450
Annex: Committee Members' Floor Statements	450
Appendices	503
Appendix 1: Chronology	504
Appendix 2: Individual POW, MIA, and KIA-BNR Cases.....	574
135 Discrepancy Cases	578
Sen. Smith List of 324.....	635
Appendix 3: Prior Investigations	826
Appendix 4: Witnesses.....	865
Appendix 5: Excerpts from Selected Documents	879
Appendix 6: Selected Excerpts from Hearing Testimony	894